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ABSTRACT

This assessment of the Tillman Seminar on White racism is based on interviews with 56 people who participated in the seminar between 1969 and 1979. The Tillman seminars are presented throughout the United States for the purpose of calling to the attention of participants that white racism is endemic in American culture and that it must be combatted, especially at the institutional level. Specific objectives of this study were to illustrate the nature and variety of seminar effects on participants and on social institutions in communities to which participants returned after attending the seminar. The method was to survey participants regarding their impressions of the seminar and their perceptions of changes in their behavior and/or attitudes as a result of seminar participation. Interview questions were open-ended. Findings indicated that, for all respondents, the seminar was a memorable experience and an introduction to the radical thesis of institutionalized racism in the United States. Most respondents reported that they felt more comfortable around minorities and felt that their commitment to equality became more energized as a result of seminar participation. Further, findings indicated that institutions including schools, churches, and social service organizations were altered by activities of seminar participants in various ways, including that there were noted increases in minority vendor purchases and in the number of white and minority studies programs in schools. The conclusion is that the Tillman seminar accomplished its major purposes. (DB)

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EVALUATION
OF THE
TILLMAN SEMINAR ON WHITE RACISM

by

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September 1980

SO 013 168

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The first acknowledgment of this effort must go to those for whose benefit the entire Tillman effort was mounted: those millions of Americans who are the victims of white racism and its pernicious reality. Were it not for them and their pain this study would not have been necessary, nor the seminar aimed at their oppressors.

The second acknowledgment must go to James and Mary Tillman for their years of energy, intelligence, imagination, and persistence in bringing their message to so many persons. This document is testimony to the impact and range of their effect on the lives of 56 particular people. But their impact is felt much more broadly than that; this research testifies to some of that broader impact.

It must also be acknowledged that this document will lack the reaction and response of James Tillman due to his untimely death shortly before the beginning of this project. That he will be missed is clear from the persons we interviewed. We regret that his response to this study will be missing, but we look forward to Mary Tillman's reactions.

Louise McCannel and her commitment to this evaluation was a constant reminder of the importance and necessity of this task. The Walker Board of Directors, in approving the innovative concept of this study, was the key source of support throughout this project.

Another major gesture of acknowledgement goes to all those past Seminar participants that we interviewed, in Minnesota and Georgia. Without exception, each brought a sense of candor and honest reflection that speaks well of the entire process.

Our interview team, which included Jackie Randelman and Joan Scully gave time and thoughtful help to several portions of the project. Their care and attention to the tasks that they were assigned make us confident in the results of our work.

No project involving as much co-ordination and processing of information can go far without persons willing to attend to the adminstrative details and the actual production of finished materials. Raeone Buckman-Ellis co-ordinated the interviews and managed most of the project. Jean Twite spent many hours at the word processor to complete the report you have before you. Jim Crawford and Lana Harris coded and tabulated the raw data.

Both of us owe thanks and gratitude to all of the persons mentioned here. It has been an honor to involve ourselves in this project with all of you.

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INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

In early 1979, Rainbow Research, Inc. was charged by the Archie D. and Bertha H. Walker Foundation to conduct an "Evaluation of the Tillman Seminar on White Racism."

Our study sought to discover what impact the Seminar had on participants, and in turn what participants had done, if anything, that served to reduce racism in the community.

To learn about these effects of the Seminar, we conducted interviews with 56 people (50 in Minnesota and 6 in Georgia) who had been in the Seminar between 1969 and 1979. The interview format was structured but qualitative, seeking to elicit narrative from participants that would illustrate the nature and variety of effects the Seminar had, on participants and then in turn, on various societal institutions.

As we designed and conducted the study, we proceeded from the understanding that the Seminar had two basic purposes:

1) To teach that white racism is endemic in American culture and that everyone, and each of our institutions, is affected by it.

2) To engage a commitment from participants to fight racism, especially at the institutional level.

Did the Seminar accomplish its purposes? Given the data we have, we would say "Yes."

The following summarizes the major learnings from our study that we believe support this conclusion. The body of the report contains more context and data for this summary.

1) For virtually every one of our respondents, the Tillman Seminar on White Racism was a memorable experience, even for those participating 10 years ago. Almost everyone recalled quickly and vividly James Tillman himself, his style, his intelligence and knowledge, and the intensity of the presentations and discussion. We believe that most seminars are not as memorable.

2) Virtually every one of our respondents reported an understanding and acceptance of an essentially radical thesis of institutionalized racism. For many, this acceptance and commitment to a thesis came to pervade their perceptions of social reality and their daily activities.

3) Nearly all participants reported making a change in some aspect of their lives. Those changes ranged from "working on some aspect of organizational or institutional policy to make it less racist" to "changing organizational affiliation because of their policies" to "changing how one talks about minorities or racism to family, colleagues, and friends" to "feeling more comfortable around minorities". Not all of these reports show equal success, of course, in actually diminishing racism, but the fact of the effort itself testifies to the impact of the Seminar.

4) Not all of this commitment and activity can be attributed to the Tillman Seminar. Most participants had some understanding of racism before, most had felt personally sympathetic to principles of equality, and some had been active previously in efforts to reduce racism. But a surprising number felt they had now learned a framework for synthesizing all the "pieces of the puzzle" that had previously been unimagined. And a suprising number felt their previous commitment had now been energized, refreshed, or given new and better ammunition.

5) There is evidence that our study sample does not adequately represent the full variety of all the people taking the Seminar. Our sample tends to be considerably older; we interviewed comparatively few born after World War II and comparatively many born before the Depression. We located very few who had been "students" at the time of taking the Seminar, and comparatively more who had been employed, largely in educational, church, or community service settings. This suggests our sample was perhaps "more settled" or "more established." One could argue that our results are even more dramatic, given a "stodgy" group with more to lose by changing its ways. Or one could argue the opposite, that the youthful and energetic group with nothing to lose by changing (that couldn't be tracked from the Foundation's mailing list) was bound to bring even more change.

6) Major institutions have been significantly altered by the activity of Seminar participants. This was particularly evident in this sample in educational, church, and social service settings (from which most participants came). Also affected were corporate and government institutions. Major examples include an increase of nearly $2,000,000 in minority vendor purchases at Northern States Power Company and the establishment of a White Studies program at the Spring Lake Park School System.

7) While the number of interviews conducted in Georgia was disappointingly small, we believe the climate for anti-racist education and action was substantially different than in Minnesota. However, our small sample was much older, almost all Black, and almost entirely church-related (Baptist). It is difficult to conclude whether the Seminar

played a much different role there, whether it was conducted differently or received differently, whether Georgia is so different from Minnesota, or that the great difference in the makeup of the sample exaggerated differences in what we heard rather than highlighted similarities; each of these seems true to some extent.

8) Virtually all participants indicated that racism is still alive and needs to be combatted, that more needs to be done. A large majority endorsed the Seminar, at least in principle, and recommended that it be continued. But others wondered whether we shouldn't advance to a newer, more progressive level of effort.

9) Many volunteered that Mary Tillman would be a skilled and successful leader of the Seminar. Others suggested that any number of leadership possibilities existed (though no names were offered), such as "former students of these Seminars" or a "skilled Black and White team." We often heard that the leaders, whoever they are, should be as knowledgeable and credible as the Tillmans

10) Major changes that were prominent in participants' recommendations for improvement include a) lessening or eliminating the confrontive or abrasive aspects of the Seminar, b) incorporating more into the Seminar about community organizing and institutional change strategies, c) appending a second or follow-up experience to the Seminar.

11) While anti-racism training and other forms of activism have come in a variety of styles, we found nothing in the literature even remotely similar to the Tillman Seminars in terms of their focus on White Racism and their intent to produce change at the institutional level.

12) Limitations of the study include the following: a) all the stories are unsubstantiated; b) we get no sense of organizational evolution or history, or the actual process of change that any given organization experiences; c) the cause-and-effect link between the Seminar and subsequent activities is weak, created by the "retrospective" nature of the project; d) there are no baseline data to compare these data against, since there seems to be no evaluations of comparable anti-racism training efforts.

We began this study with the realization that no study undertaken 10 years after the fact could "scientifically estimate" the effect the Tillman Seminars had in reducing racism. We worked instead to identify the variety of arenas that might indeed be changed when we imagine acts that "reduce racism." And then we conducted the interviews to learn whether these arenas were indeed filled with new activity, at least as well as we could know it by our respondents' reports.

We found, in just 56 interviews, an amazing variety of activity, from purely attitudinal to thoroughly institutional. Another sample of 56 would probably produce a completely different set of individual stories, but a very similar total picture. A single summary of this "total picture" is impossible to make fairly; most likely, every reader of these stories would make different summary judgments. We believe a strength of this evaluation-research style is that it avoids a statistical and pseudo-scientific stance and instead lets each reader place his/her own values on data that lends itself to personal interpretation.

We should also note that the endorsement of the Tillman Seminars by this sample of participants can also be taken, by implication, as endorsement of the Walker Board's commitment to supporting anti-racism programming. It may not be that the Tillman Seminar is the best way to combat racism, but it is clear that it is one way, shown here to produce results. It is also clear that there are not many sustained efforts in this area. The importance of the Walker effort cannot be underplayed.

LITERATURE SEARCH OF PREVIOUS EFFORTS

We reviewed the available literature on "racism" and "race relations training" in search of two things:

(1) Were there other educational efforts similar to Tillman's, and if so, what kinds of results did they have?

(2) What was known of the effectiveness of other efforts to combat racism?

We used the library resources of the University of Minnesota to conduct computer searches of the following major bodies of literature: Psychological Abstracts, Educational Abstracts, Social Science Citation Abstracts, and Sociology Abstracts. In these searches we were assisted by a professional librarian.

Other sources were searched manually, covering the last 10 years: government publications, Social Science and Humanities, Race Relations Abstracts, Race Relations Reporter, and Race.

These searches turned up approximately 450 citations referring to the subject of "race" and "race relations." Almost all merely described programs or efforts to bring about change; virtually none (only 2) attempted to learn about their effectiveness. Almost all focused on changing individual attitudes and increasing harmony, rather than changing systems or institutions (only 3).

Most articles focused on specific institutions and circumstances (increasing acceptance to school integration, improving recruits' attitudes towards the Army's race relations program). None proceeded on an analysis of racism that transcended individual institutional settings.

The uniqueness of the Tillman Seminar, as ascertained by a review of the literature, seems to be 1) its foundation on an analysis of racism; 2) a focus on the systemic or institutional nature of racism; 3) a focus on the white power structure, hence "white racism"; 4) a focus on changing the system rather than changing individual attitudes; 5) the intention of application to a variety of institutional settings.

Our knowledge of the uniqueness of the Tillman Seminar relative to other efforts rests solely on this review of the literature. It is possible that other, similar efforts exist but have not been reported in publications that libraries typically acquire. For example, our interviewer in Georgia did hear of a two-day workshop on affirmative action that apparently contained ideas similar to Tillman's, and other training experiences may exist. However, our review of a 10-year body of nation-wide literature revealed nothing comparable to the Tillman effort.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERVIEW PROCEDURE

An Interview Guide was developed to explore these areas in detail. We sought to develop questions about a) the context for the person's participation in the Seminar; b) reactions to the Seminar, to the Tillmans, and to the group composition and process; c) participants' acceptance of Tillman's thesis of institutional racism, and their undertaking a commitment to fight it; d) examples of their own behavior subsequent to the Seminar that might illustrate impact in twelve different areas; e) their criticisms of the Seminar, and their summary judgments of its value; and f) their recommendations for an improved approach to further Seminars. All these are presented in the Findings section of this report.

We were able to glean enough from the literature review to develop a classification of different kinds of impact, which guided our questioning in the interviews. These areas ranged from purely personal (e.g., change in attitude) to interpersonal (e.g., change in supervisory style) to systemic (e.g., change in institutional policy). Twelve impact areas were identified for inquiry, as discussed in a later section of this report.

The Inteview Guide underwent five revisions (each based on different kinds of pre-testing) before being "finalized" (see Attachment A). Four interviewers, the two authors included, paticipated in revising and refining the instrument, to minimize biases due to our different styles of questioning, and to optimize consistency in data collection, in conducting a logical and comfortable flow of questioning, with good balance as to conversational yet rigorous styles, and fidelity to the detail and uniqueness of participants' experiences.

A second form was developed to record sought-for pieces of information in a consistent way and to serve the various tasks of analysis. To check on our actual adherence to good design, we conducted a "reliability test", wherein we exchanged with each other our taped interviews, re-transcribed them, and then compared notes to discover inconsistencies due to weaknesses in the questions themselves, to our interviewing styles and/or to our transcribing fidelity; the interview procedure and form were revised accordingly.

We convened a small team of experts from the University of Minnesota to review our designs and procedures. They concluded that given the enormity and complexity of the evaluation question ("What was the impact of the Tillman Seminar?"), and the impossibility of a full-scale "scientific study" (with control groups, before-and-after measurement, etc.), and the limited resources at our disposal, that this approach was reasonable, productive, and interesting. They also contributed several good suggestions on question wording, interview tactics, and on the interpretation of qualitative data.

THE STUDY SAMPLE

Between 1969 and 1979, James and Mary Tillman conducted 64 Seminars on White Racism, in which 940 people participated. These seminars were offered in Minnesota, Georgia, Texas, Massachusetts, and a few other states, though predominantly in Minnesota.

Interviewing efforts were concentrated in Minnesota, where most of the Seminars took place. We drew two random samples of 100 each, and mailed invitations to participate in an interview concerning the Seminars. These 200 were drawn from the population of past participants (1969-1979), who were living at the time of the Seminar within 30 miles of the Twin Cities. We were able to locate and successfully schedule and complete 50 interviews in the Twin Cities area.

Another effort was made to contact former participants living within 30 miles of Atlanta between 1970 and 1979. These efforts were difficult, since most participants had been students who were now no longer living in the area, or were otherwise unlocatable. We were able to locate and successfully schedule and complete 6 interviews in Atlanta.

We knew that several biasing factors might be working to make our final sample something other than representative of the "population" of participants, even though our mailing list was drawn at random (from an essentially urban subset of the total).

For example, former students might be harder to locate now, as would other "less settled" people, many of whom might have been, or become, leading more activist lives in combatting racism. That is, our sample might be overly loaded with the more established of the original participants. If this selective factor indeed is operating, then it makes this study appear conservative; if our "established" sample showed considerable anti-racism activity, then the "more representative" sample would probably show even more.

FROM WHICH SEMINARS DID OUR SAMPLE COME?

Table 1 gives some detail of the number of participants in the Seminars for the period 1969 to 1979, both for the Total Tillman Effort and for the Study Sample. For this table, and others concerning the total Tillman effort, we drew demographic data from the roster of all participants maintained by the Walker Foundation. This roster gives basic demographic information on all former participants, even those not sponsored by the Foundation, and contains the addresses and phone numbers we used to contact the sample.

While year-for-year there are obvious discrepancies between our Study Sample and the Total Tillman Effort, the overall trend, as expressed in three major year groupings, does not suggest that we've sampled more from the later years than the middle years or earlier years of the Seminar's offerings.

TABLE 1

From which seminars did our sample come?

Year of Seminar	Study Sample						Total Tillman Effort	
	Minnesota[1]		Georgia		Total			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1969	5	10.2	0	0.0	5	9.1	65	6.9
1970	9	18.4	0	0.0	9	16.4	92	9.8
1971	5	10.2	0	0.0	5	9.1	105	11.2
1972	4	8.2	1	16.7	5	9.1	136	14.5
1973	1	2.0	0	0.0	1	1.8	61	6.5
1974	5	10.2	1	16.7	6	10.9	113	12.0
1975	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	31	3.3
1976	12	24.5	0	0.0	12	21.8	73	7.8
1977	3	6.1	0	0.0	3	5.5	115	12.2
1978	5	10.2	3	50.0	8	14.5	71	7.5
1979	0	0.0	1	16.7	1	1.8	78	8.3
Total	49	100.0	6	100.1	55	100.0	940	100.0

[1]The Seminar date for one Minnesota participant could not be determined.

WHAT WERE PARTICIPANTS' AGES?

Tables 2 and 3 shed some light on age and occupational characteristics of all those ever participating in the Tillman Seminars ("Total Tillman Effort") and for our Study Sample (in Minnesota and Georgia).

Table 2, showing the age distribution, does show that our sample is definitely older than the total group of participants. Those born after World War II (43% of the Total Effort) are particularly underrepresented (12% of the Study Sample). And those born before the Depression (21% of the Total participants) are overrepresented in the Sample (41% of the study sample).

TABLE 2

How old were seminar participants when they took the seminar?

Year of Birth	Study Sample			Total Tillman Effort[1]
	Minn.	Georgia	Total	
1915 and before	2	2	4	35
1916-1920	2	-	2	30
1921-1925	7	1	8	53
1926-1930	9	-	9	77
1931-1935	9	-	9	93
1936-1940	7	2	9	97
1941-1945	7	1	8	119
1946-1950	7	-	7	245
1951-1955	-	-	-	117
1956-1960	-	-	-	34
Not Given	-	-	-	38
Total	50	6	56	938

[1]Ages for two people were not determined.

IN WHAT SETTINGS WERE PARTICIPANTS EMPLOYED?

Table 3 also shows some discrepancies between the Total Effort and the Study Sample. Most notably, the class of people called "student" is thinly represented in the Sample. It is not that yesterday's student shows up now employed in one of the other settings; rather, yesterday's student (from Minnesota and Georgia) was difficult for us to locate. This was particularly true in Georgia, where most were students at the time of participation.

As for the other employment settings, we see some differences between the Total Effort and the Study Sample, though it is difficult to argue a case for a particular type of bias present in the sample. For example, Education and Church are the two most prevalent institutions in the Total Effort and the Sample, though in somewhat different proportions. Interestingly, 9% of the Sample is unemployed, compared to less than 1% of the Total Effort.

TABLE 3

In what settings were participants employed at the time of the seminar?

	Study Sample			Total Tillman Effort[1]
	Minn.	Georgia	Total	
Unemployed	1	1	2	6
Education	10	1	11	135
Social Action	2	-	2	28
Social Service	4	-	4	75
Government	1	-	1	26
Commerical	5	1	6	75
Church	3	3	6	190
Homemaker	13	-	13	43
Other	-	-	-	9
Unknown	5	-	5	32
Student	6	-	6	319
Total	50	6	56	938

[1]Employment for two participants was not determined.

HOW DID PEOPLE COME TO BE AT THE SEMINAR?

Table 4 gives responses to this question. The largest categories were "invited by friend or colleague" and "sent by supervisor or someone else in authority."

Other categories include self-selection (respondent was either looking for a seminar of this kind or saw a brochure and felt invited to attend) and by special invitation.

TABLE 4

How did people come to be at the seminar?

	Minn.	Georgia	Total
Can't remember/no comment	2	0	2
Invited by friend, colleague	14	3	17
"Sent"	11	1	12
Part of course	2	1	3
Self selection	6	1	7
Invited by Walker Foundation	5	0	5
Invited by Charles Buckman-Ellis	3	0	3
Went as spouse	3	0	3
Other	4	0	4
Total			56

HAD SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS BEEN PREVIOUSLY INVOLVED IN EFFORTS TO COMBAT RACISM?

Table 5 shows responses to this question.

There was quite some variability in our sample on this particular question.

Nineteen said that they had not been active at all before the seminar, 14 said that they had been active to some extent, and 18 said that they had been considerably active.

The interviewer in Georgia was so stunned by the differences between Minnesota and Georgia participants that he departed considerably from the standard interview guide, asking different questions and eliminating questions as inappropriate and maybe disrespectful. Consequently, the numbers on Tables 5 and 13 reflect an omission in questioning rather than in responding.

TABLE 5

Had seminar participants been previously involved in efforts to combat racism?

	Minn.	Georgia	Total
Not active	17	2	19
Some, little activity	14	0	14
Considerable activity	17	1	18
Beginning to be active	0	0	0
Considered myself liberal, but not active	2	0	2

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE SEMINAR

We asked several questions about the Seminar experience itself, particularly participants' recollections of James and Mary Tillman, and of the Seminar process. (Participants' critiques of the Seminar, and recommendations for change, are given in a later section of this report.)

HOW DO PARTICIPANTS REMEMBER JAMES TILLMAN?

When asked, "How do you remember James Tillman?", most people responded quickly, listing adjectives like "articulate, powerful, dynamic, intelligent, forceful, charismatic" (see Table 6). Several others (and sometimes even the same people) also said "abrasive, arrogant."

Our observation was that Tillman was remembered very clearly by virtually everyone (even by those who had taken the Seminar 10 years ago), respected by the great majority, sometimes to the point of awe, and that he left a strong impression on most.

TABLE 6

How did seminar participants describe James Tillman?

	First Comment	Second Comment	Total
Articulate, intelligent, dynamic	38	-	38
Manipulative	2	1	3
Abrasive, arrogant, condescending	3	8	11
Powerful, charismatic, forceful	6	18	24
"Too" articulate, erudite	1	1	2
Liked him	1	-	1
Didn't like him	1	-	1
Other positive	4	9	13
Other negative	-	6	6

HOW DO PARTICIPANTS REMEMBER MARY TILLMAN?

Recollections of Mary Tillman were also positive, though often less vivid. Participants implied she was effective, saying that she too was articulate and knowledgeable, and/or that she was a good complement to James Tillman, playing an effective team role (shown in Table 7 as "other positive").

Several said that she played a secondary role, but without imparting a negative meaning. Five people claimed not to remember her, and several said their memory of her is dim; some said they wished she had played a more active role.

TABLE 7

How did seminar participants describe Mary Tillman?

	First Comment	Second Comment	Total
Articulate, intelligent	21	-	21
Gentle, smoothed out the hard points	11	3	14
Secondary role	7	9	16
Liked her	1	1	2
Didn't like her	-	-	-
Other positive	11	12	23
Other negative	-	1	1
Don't remember	4	1	5
(Not known)	1	-	1

HOW DID PARTICIPANTS DESCRIBE THE GROUP PROCESS?

While we knew that the Seminar was mostly didactic with very little small group discussion or group process exercises, we felt we should ask about participants' reaction to the process of the Seminar. We were particularly interested to know if there was something valuable in any non-didactic process that may have occurred.

In response to the question, "Did the group process itself contribute anything important, above and beyond the influence of Tillman himself?", the largest single response (see Table 8) was that the group process was helpful, but 12 said that there was no group process to speak of.

Most of the "group process" that people referred to was the give and take of argument and discussion of points raised by Tillman.

Many people spoke of the intensity of the discussion, sometimes getting engaged at a very personal, deep-seated, and emotional level. This is probably related to the earlier finding that Tillman is so clearly remembered, and to another finding (discussed below) that Tillman's basic thesis, of institutionalized white racism, was so widely accepted. It probably also relates to many respondents' appreciation of Mary Tillman, who served to soften the confrontations.

Other reactions to the Seminar, more in the form of critiques and recommendations, are given in the "Recommendations" section of this report.

TABLE 8

How did seminar participants describe the group process of the seminar?

	Minn.	Georgia	Total
No comment	4	1	5
No group process to speak of	12	0	12
Group process was helpful	18	1	19
Other comment	16	1	17
(Not known)	-	3	3

A COMPARISON OF THE MINNESOTA AND GEORGIA EXPERIENCE

Our experience with the sample of past participants from Georgia tends to confirm our hunch that there would be a substantial difference from Minnesota, in terms of the climate or context for the Tillman Seminar.

We say this even though our Georgia sample was small in number (6), and quite different from the Minnesota sample, being distinctly Black (5 of 6), older on the average, and church-related (5 of 6), and so we "saw" Georgia through different eyes than we saw Minnesota.

Some of these differences can be related to cultural variations between Northern and Southern U.S. Participants in the Georgia seminar revealed an environment heavily influenced by the church active in society. Many responded to the Tillman Seminar with a distinctly "Christian" orientation. This was in contrast to the more "secular" stance in the Minnesota sample, where church was rarely mentioned as a formative factor in wordly settings.

Then again, the predominant church in Minnesota is Lutheran, with a theology that expresses itself differently than Southern Baptist.

It also seemed that the Tillman Seminar in Georgia, as revealed by our sample, tended to approach racism as much more a matter of the heart: "transform the spirit and the world will be transformed." In Minnesota, the focus was the system: "recognize the system, and change it."

In some respects, the Tillman Seminar, in both the Georgia and Minnesota presentations, was like an evangelical crusade. It demanded individual conversion. It insisted that you admit to the error of your ways. And then it told you to preach the word, or do the deed. Graduates were sometimes said to be "Tillmanized, or Tillmanites."

Another apparent difference between Minnesota and Georgia is the heritage of the southern Black church, and especially the heavy involvement of Black church leaders in the civil rights movement. The tendency in the South was to identify racism as in the arena of "Christianity, the sin of exclusion, redemption, and harmony." In Minnesota, racism was placed more in the arena of "society, oppression, institutional change, and equality."

For whatever set of underlying reasons, both cultural and theological, the differences between the Georgia and Minnesota samples were clear and palpable to the authors of this report. It is likely that the effects of this Seminar would be inherently and necessarily different wherever there are cultural and/or theological differences. These differences can obviously be turned into strengths, and it is apparent that the Tillmans were sensitive to this.

ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE SEMINAR'S PURPOSES

Our next questions asked if the purposes of the Seminar had been met.

We introduced these questions with the following:

"We understand that the Seminar had two basic purposes. One was to teach that white society itself is inherently racist, and that everyone is a part of it.

"The other was to encourage participants to become committed to fight institutional racism."

"We'd like to know if either of those two purposes were accomplished for you."

(Analysis of responses to these questions is presented on the following pages.)

DID SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS ACCEPT TILLMAN'S THESIS OF WHITE RACIST SOCIETY?

Table 9 shows that an overwhelming majority (51 of 56) said yes, they did accept the thesis, at least to a great extent. This was true for Minnesota and Georgia. No one said that they accepted none of it, and only a handful were lukewarm to the thesis.

The next table (Table 10) considers the possibility that many had accepted this thesis before their participation in the Seminar, leading us to conclude falsely that credit belongs to Tillman. But we see that only 6 of 48 already had this perspective before the Seminar.

For the great majority, the Seminar either "provided major new learning" or "provided a framework for incorporating the different pieces I already knew."

While the brunt of our interview was to look for impact in terms of subsequent deeds of participation in society, we found that for a number of people the major impact was this greater intellectual understanding of racism.

While this type of impact may or may not have subsequent action, we would argue that providing a major new understanding of racism is a substantial contribution of a 3-day seminar in an area so complex, personal and volatile.

TABLE 9

Did seminar participants accept Tillman's thesis?

	Minn.	Georgia	Total
Yes (to a great extent)	46	5	51
Some of it	4	1	5
None of it	0	0	0

TABLE 10

Was this learning new for them (or had they already known it)?	No (already had this perspective)	Provided major new learning	Had most of it before, but new synthesis	Didn't accept thesis	Other	Total
Yes	6	15	24	0	3	48
Some of it	2	0	2	1	0	5
None of it	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	8	15	26	1	3	53

Note: Six people didn't answer one or the other part of the question and cannot be included in the table.

To the question, "Did you accept their thesis of white racist society?", we selected the following typical responses:

"You don't know what you don't know until somebody opens your eyes to it. This course opened my eyes."

"It was new in some ways, especially seeing the depth and scope of racist society."

"This was not a new learning for me but I learned about the degree, subtlety and how easy it is to fall into."

"I remember him saying white liberals are the villains, not the conservatives; that was consciousness raising."

"I understood it before but the Seminar reinforced and validated my understanding."

"I didn't always agree with him but it definitely raised my consciousness."

"I didn't accept it when I went in but I did when I went out."

"The Tillmans were promoting ideas I'd had for a long time, but their sociological and psychological knowledge let them synthesize it in good ways."

"They verbalized in a new way the principles I knew to be true. Good for me to get affirmation that I was not on the wrong track."

"It was good for me as a white person to understand the same perspective from black leadership of the Seminar."

"Before I thought all we had to do was education about attitudes, but I became aware of the institutional basis of racism as a result of the Seminar."

DID PEOPLE BECOME COMMITTED TO FIGHT RACISM

The second purpose of the Seminar was to encourage people to become committed to fight white racism. We asked if participants had indeed become committed. We also asked if this commitment was new, or if they already had it prior to the Seminar.

Table 11 reveals that the majority already had expressed some commitment before the Seminar (presumably this was a reason for their attendance), but that this commitment became strengthened or energized (for 14), or at least stayed active (for 20). Many said that the new perspective of racism offered by Tillman served to strengthen this commitment.

But there were 17 who had not felt committed prior to the Seminar, and of these, 9 said they became committed. Again, we feel this is a large "conversion" rate; most discussions of racism are not as persuasive.

TABLE 11

Did people become committed to fight racism?

	Minn.	Georgia	Total
Wasn't before, wasn't after	8	0	8
Wasn't before, but became committed	7	2	9
Was before, stayed committed	18	2	20
Prior commitment became strengthened	13	1	14
Wanted to, but didn't know how	2	0	2
(Not known)	2	1	3

AREAS OF SUBSEQUENT IMPACT

TYPES OF IMPACT

There are obviously many ways in which a seminar can have impact on a person. For some the Seminar may have been a "meaningful experience" but no action may have been taken that was inspired by the Seminar.

Or the Seminar may lead to a greater understanding of racism, and perhaps this understanding creeps into subsequent dealings with people. This is often too subtle to estimate for research purposes.

Or a person may have been inspired to take direct action of various kinds. But even these would be difficult to "measure" since they vary on several dimensions of intensity, duration, and magnitude of impact. In addition, each observer would probably attach different degrees of "importance" to these acts.

We chose to demarcate the concept of "impact" into several distinct, more manageable areas (or sub-categories), and to ask our sample about their experience with each. We developed these categories on the basis of a review of the literature on racism, attitude change, organizational change, and human relations training. The categories reflect the varied forms of activity, and impact, in each of those fields.

The areas of impact are shown on the next page, as Table 12. Note how they are arranged in "descending order" of scope of impact. That is, areas at the top of the list concern organizational policy, which is institutionalized change, officially sanctioned, and presumably affecting large numbers of people, including those of the future. Areas further down the list get less institutional and more personal.

TABLE 12. AREAS OF IMPACT

CHANGE IN ORGANIZATIONS OR INSTITUTIONS

1) Change in organizational practice or policy so that it would be less racist.

2) Change in opportunities to learn about, or to teach the issues of racism, or to strategize against racism.

3) Change in the connections or networking or cooperation among community organizations or resources (to take on racism together).

CHANGE IN PERSONAL POLITICS

4) Change in one's style of cooperation, supervision, or in employer/employee relations (organizational climate).

5) Change in such interpersonal factors as trust, hostility, tension or cooperation at the place where one works.

6) Joining or leaving an organization, or change in to whom one gives support or donations, on the basis of their positions on racism.

7) Change in the way one talks about minorities or about racism, to one's family, friends, or colleagues.

CHANGE IN INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

8) Change in the way one includes minorities into one's circle of friends.

9) Change in comfort level around minorities.

CHANGE IN COMMITMENT, KNOWLEDGE, OR ATTITUDE

10) Change in commitment to work against racism.

11) Change in activity to become more knowledgeable on minority issues.

12) Change in awareness of one's attitudes towards Blacks and towards other minorities.

EXTENT OF IMPACT

Table 13 shows the number of participants reporting each type of impact. One can see that more than half the sample (30) was able to give at least one instance of changed organizational policy that they had wrought, and several people gave more than one instance. Similarly, more than half (28) could give an instance of adding substantially to teaching of racism (or non-racism). These two categories exemplify the most important kinds of assault on racism, according to Tillman, so it is most impressive that we discovered such a pervasive "acting out" of this commitment to bring about change.

The other categories also show marked impact. We have chosen examples selectively for inclusion in this report. All of the stories will be turned over to the Walker Foundation after being transferred to McBee Keysort Cards, suitably coded and punched for easy sorting and retrieval. These cards will then be a resource to the Foundation and to others interested in this area.

TABLE 13

Number of Participants Reporting Each Type of Impact

1.	Change in organizational policy	30
2.	Change in teaching opportunities	28
3.	Change in community cooperation	22
4.	Change in organizational climate	29
5.	Change in interpersonal factors	25
6.	Change in organizational affiliations	17
7.	Change in language	35
8.	Inclusion of minority friends	10
9.	Change in comfort level	22
10.	Change in commitment	35
11.	Change in learning activities	28
12.	Change in awareness of attitude	39

IMPACT AREA 1. CHANGE IN ORGANIZATIONAL PRACTICE OR POLICY

This was the area of impact that we sought most to discover. If respondents gave one example, we asked for more. We asked several probing questions that would refresh respondents' memories of their activities.

Table 13 shows the number of people in Minnesota and Georgia who could give at least one instance of impact at the organizational policy level. We see that for the total sample, 33 of the 56 reported at least one instance. In Georgia the ratio was different: one out of six could make such a report.

We selected several examples to highlight the kind of stories we heard of changes in organizational or institutional policy. These are presented below, under each of the several organizational settings.

In drawing out the stories from our respondents, we tried to get them to include in each narrative whether they could attribute the incident to their participation in the Seminar, i.e., whether the incident was part of a commitment that had roots in the Seminar. Sometimes, of course, this was impossible to ascertain.

EDUCATIONAL SETTINGS

Funding Issues (chosen from 3)

"I was involved with Blake School before, during, and after the Seminar as a volunteer fund-raiser. Blake had no policy or stance toward inclusion of minorities. I served on an action committee that developed a curriculum review and scholarship review project. These were passed by the Board as school policy and offered as part of our fund-raising strategy. I found it much easier to answer questions. In fact I had been ready to quit fund-raising, but I stayed on. I doubled our financial commitment, and have been able to win support for the school."

Personnel Issues (chosen from 2)

"In 1971 I became involved with a group of research assistants that fought for better pay since our work experience was similar to the males but our salaries were not. I admired Tillman's style in being willing to speak out forcefully and emulated him in this situation."

Structure/Policy Issues (chosen from 3)

"I'm on a committee that's advisory to the St. Paul School District, and co-chair on a part on how to eliminate sex bias. We're working closely with several minority groups. During last Summer and Fall we harrassed the school board when they tried to eliminate one of the anti-bias positions from the school system. We went to meetings and showed up with parents and students. It took six months to get the position up for bid again, but pushing has been positive. They realize they're being watched and they don't fill administrative positions now without making it available to minorities and women."

Affirmative Action (chosen from 3)

"Tillman impacted on a program for recruiting teachers. First, we sent White teachers to recruit Black teachers. We couldn't find Black candidates in Minnesota, and finally looked out of state. We'd had no policy about recruiting Black teachers prior to 1968. This way, we got better experienced Black teachers than we would have otherwise. It said to Black teachers in a pragmatic way, "You are of value."

Curriculum Design (chosen from 6)

"In the Minneapolis school system, I am designing a training program for teachers, so that American Indian music can be made more familiar to teach, to deal with attitudes/stereotypes in dealing with Indian kids, to give more depth to teachers' understanding of the music so that it does not sound different, and to bring American Indian music and culture into the present rather than just the historical. This program will be made available as an in-service program to Minneapolis teachers next year, and will eventually be made available statewide. It will be one hour and contain resource materials. The Tillman Seminar reinforced my commitment to do this, along with other courses I had taken in preparation."

SOCIAL SERVICE SETTINGS

Funding Issues (chosen from 3)

"Wrote proposal to Minneapolis Foundation to work on white consciousness-raising. Won approval."

Policy/Structure (chosen from 4)

"In 1972-73 I sat on the budget committee at the YWCA. I fought for the continued funding of decentralized branches that were serving a large number of minorities. The Y has a tradition of closing those branches that do not come up with memberships. Tillman talked about the white notion of being deserving, or earning merit and how that was a poor way of setting criteria of worthiness. I believed that and fought for it. A compromise was reached that was more my direction than the other. Budgeting committee was in process at that time and some were arguing for elimination of Ruth Hawkins."

Affirmative Action (chosen from 3)

"I got on the State Board of Volunteers of America. We have looked at the questions of Who is Hired? Who is Served? Nobody is refused service at Bar-None, Galloway Boy's Ranch, color is not a criterion. My decision to serve on this board was directly impacted by Tillman. I decided that if there was any exclusionary practices, dealing out certain sectors of society, I won't contribute time, money or talents."

Personnel Issues

"Over the last three years, I have gradually let some teachers go. This was an intentional decision based on my analysis of their racist attitudes. For example, we had a person who taught bridge. She's really successful, lots of clients, and they were winning tournaments. But she patronized them, categorized them and made them dependent on her. We saw that as racist reinforcing so we let her go."

Programming (chosen from 2):

"Started a Family Resource Center, to reach kids/parents as criminal justice prevention program. The parent education component is attributable to Tillman. Tillman made a realist out of me."

Anti-Racism Training (chosen from 3):

"I serve as a human relations consultant to several school districts outside of Minnesota (e.g., Joliet, IL, Topeka, KS). Usually they call me in when faculty is angry and scared, and desegregation is not going well. I soften them up before they get the word that they're racist. I get them in touch with their strengths and working as a team, and they don't have to admit out loud that they're racist, though I point out what they're doing. I try to restructure their personal reward structures, so that they can get rewards for making change and helping children, even if the kids aren't like the kind they're used to (WASPs). A whole school can get turned around."

GOVERNMENT SETTINGS

Affirmative Action (chosen from 2)

(Blaine Police Dept.) "I would have said not women or blacks and would have given the excuse that they would have too much problem out here. Now, I welcome women and other minorities to apply for the jobs. I have encouraged our present applicant to apply and how to get credentials. I think she would make a fine policeman."

Political Action

(City of Blaine, Fall 1969-70) "Little but growing awareness of racial/human rights issues. Was on a committee on Human Rights to investigate violations of human rights in the city (in education, etc.); tried to set it up as a permanent commission. Got people in the community involved, had a lot of meetings, contacted people on city council. Got promises from council members, etc. A council member whose vote was promised and important who had acted as a liaison voted against the commission. Commission fell through. She was on the committee already, Tillman gave her an impetus, gave her a tool to work with."

COMMERCIAL SETTINGS

Affirmative Action (chosen from 2)

(NSP, 1977 post-Seminar) "Few blacks hired as employees or contractors at NSP, formed Affirmative Action committee, U.S., fair amount of resistance. Hired minority contractors, $23,000/yr. to $1.5 or $2 million/yr. Branded as a radical, may have sacrificed career opportunities."

Marketing

(An advertising agency, 1980) "Not certain how to market minority fashion fair to minorities, was considering running a less sophisticated copy under Target advertisement. I got them to recognize many sophisticated blacks in cities and therefore should run sophisticated copy under Dayton's ads."

CHURCH SETTINGS

Policy

(Choral music teacher, Blake schools) "I sat on a liturgical commission for the Episcopal church. We were in the middle of a manual for priests. I moved that all the language be made non-sexist. The motion was passed and the language was revised. That was a direct result of my being freed up to speak up for what I believed in."

Programming (chosen from 3)

(White suburban church, Wayzata) "Much of what Tillman had called 'voyeurism,' 'band-aid measures': sending clothing, food. While volunteering in church, discussed power and leadership roles, etc., helped convince the minister to have speakers come out and get more involved in anti-racism movements."

Integration (chosen from 2)

"In Elk River, a Laotian couple had been invited to live in the parsonage. This year. Some parishioners were upset, and I talked to them about the need to be more accommodating (few, if any, Asian families in Elk River), and they came around."

Funding (chosen from 3)

"People's Food Coop, near north side, Matt Eubanks was involved. There was an arson. I had angry words with Matt. JUMP funded it. Our prime interest in funding was to enable black people to have control over an important part of their economic lives, a grocery store that they owned. This process was directly related to the Tillman learning. I had to justify the use of JUMP funds to the members of the church."

IMPACT AREA 2. CHANGE IN OPPORTUNITIES TO LEARN ABOUT OR TO TEACH ABOUT ISSUES OF RACISM, OR TO STRATEGIZE AGAINST RACISM

Many reported instances where they were able to include issues of racism in curricula they were already involved with teaching, or in getting new teaching programs started that included racism.

Following are eight examples of such stories.

"At my synagogue I had an impact on my daughter's confirmation class. I talked with the rabbi and got him to include the issue of self-perception, how confirmands perceive others, and how others perceive them. This was directly related to Tillman."

"Designed a racism seminar of my own. For school teachers, in response to the human relations for teachers. We used 60 community people from the school district to put together materials focusing on institutional and cultural racism. I personally worked with (in the seminar) 1-2,000 teachers, and thousands others statewide have been part of it. It had enormous impact in the district, though probably not everyone would trace it to my seminar. Teachers internalized the material, and would often start their own projects (e.g., minority speakers in the classroom, working on faculty dynamics, drug abuse programs that focus on self-esteem). Tillman heard that I was working with teachers, and insisted that I stop, saying that I was naive and unqualified. They excommunicated me. They said only they could do it. I've

taught my seminar in every college and university in the area. Developed similar program for sexism. Written book on parenting. All part of this journey. Yes, Tillman had a major impact on me, though I was already on the track; I got tools and information from them."

"In 1973 I helped, with two other women who had gone through Tillman, to write a proposal for funding training (in) racism/sexism at the University Y. This project was funded on its second pass through the Minneapolis Foundation. A staff person was hired and employed for a couple of years. The main effort was in consciousness raising."

(South Central Ministry) "Ongoing. UTS Seminary students came to South Central for field work/social work. Made more conscious effort relating to Seminary students. They are dealing with chemical dependency, (homo)sexuality, racism. Many ask other questions like: What about black racism? Too many into 'spirituality' - a subterfuge. Many times racism gets side-stepped by other issues. Don't see systemic social issues."

"The school district conducts Human Relations Seminars, and I used some of Tillman's material, especially from his reading list. Can't say what effect it had."

"On book selection committee in music department, citywide. An element of selection was to have a multi-ethnic approach to selection of materials, and to read for racist material in pictures and texts. Previous material didn't represent different backgrounds. Often it wasn't authentic, but was white folks trying to act like or imitate . . . ignorant selection. Resulted in Music Series, used citywide. Tillman gave me stuff to recognize racism."

"I've preached the Tillman message from my pulpit, and taught 2 classes at the church on it. Most agree with it, though it's difficult for some to look into themselves and overcome their hatred for the white man. Tillman would like the way I've tried to share what I learned from him with my people."

"I've presented and taught a lot of this at my own church as well as other groups around the country, about the Gospel of Jesus Christ relative to exclusivity and racism. Teaching the need to embrace all kinds of people, to audiences that historically have been racist. Tillman would be pleased with the increasing number of folks who are seeing that the principles of Christ are incompatible with racism. I talk from an institutional point of view, using our local church and the church structure as examples."

IMPACT AREA 3. CHANGE IN THE CONNECTIONS OR NETWORKING OR COOPERATION AMONG COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS OR RESOURCES

Eighteen of the respondents were able to report such changes. Five examples follow.

"In women's political caucus and in Church Women United. 1971 to present. In political caucus, trying to recruit more minorities. I was (on) steering committee. Recruitment has not been overwhelmingly successful. Since the Seminar, increased involvement with women's movement."

"Felt there was not enough connection between the schools and organizations like NAACP and Urban League, so I made some contacts with their Education people. It is not a connection that stayed active, but was important to make at the time."

"Here at school (Anderson Elementary) I have taught music as it represents races and people, especially American Indian music. There are not any Indian teachers at the school, so there has been little direct contact. Being exposed to Tillman and other racism courses reinforced my commitment.

(Harrison School, 1977) "Parents upset that teachers not confronting black students. I supported their position and joined them in talking with principal about issue. The effect was an outside consultant contracting to meet with staff and discuss issue. This resulted in more willingness to confront kids, and better relationships amongst staff people."

"I recommended strongly to the Atlanta Council of Churches that they adopt the Tillman seminar, become familiar with it, so that they would have more than just theological arguments to use. But they haven't moved on it. They have been in transition with a new executive. Also, in the meantime, Tillman died. We've been waiting to see what Mary is going to do."

IMPACT AREA 4. CHANGE IN PARTICIPANTS' STYLE OF COOPERATION OR SUPERVISION OR EMPLOYEE RELATIONS (ORGANIZATIONAL CLIMATE)

Nineteen of those interviewed reported such a change.

"I had a much better developed sense of appreciation for the impediments to my colleagues and their capacity to respond to the issues of racism. Gave me a much better feel for the dynamics of racism in my colleagues' work."

"The Seminar gave me insight into the invisible burdens of being Black, and we have a Black secretary. Also, in all our companies we're trying to do more to develop our Black employees, especially wanting our motel maids to feel that she is significantly a part of the whole process."

IMPACT AREA 5. CHANGES IN SUCH INTERPERSONAL FACTORS AS TRUST, HOSTILITY, TENSION OR COOPERATION AT THE PLACE WHERE PARTICIPANTS WERE WORKING OR VOLUNTEERING

Twenty-three of those interviewed reported such changes. Two examples follow.

"I became much more aware that as a white liberal it's so easy to fall into being patronizing or condescending. I think I checked again anything I might say that smacked of 'Let's help these poor people.' More eager for adult to adult relationships."

"I found myself more willing to speak out in faculty situations where other faculty were willing to jump on the administrative position. I went in directly and asserted our position, instead of getting paranoid. I adopted a direct, yet willing to cooperate attitude. This is a direct result of the Seminar. Particularly the directness and the desire to protect myself at the same time."

IMPACT AREA 6. JOINING OR LEAVING ANY ORGANIZATIONS OR CHANGING TO WHOM THEY GAVE DONATIONS OR SUPPORT ON THE BASIS OF THEIR POSITIONS ON RACISM

Sixteen of those interviewed reported such changes. Three examples follow.

"We quit giving to a couple things (United Way) and changed our giving patterns. We started giving to the cultural arts center with Bob Sample. That was about 10 years ago. We started specifyng what our donations were to go for. I became willing to support black candidates. I had never been willing to do that before. I became careful of people who said they were 'for blacks'."

"I became unwilling to donate my time, money, or talents to any activity that was exclusive or privilege oriented in any way."

"I joined the Gray Panthers. I connected this somewhat to my learning about disenfranchised groups in the Tillman Seminar."

IMPACT AREA 7. CHANGE IN THE WAY ONE TALKED ABOUT MINORITIES OR ABOUT RACISM TO THEIR FAMILIES, FRIENDS OR COLLEAGUES

Thirty-five of those interviewed said they had made changes of this sort.

"As a mother I made changes in my child rearing practices that related directly to the Tillman experience. I teach the children to not see blacks in servant roles (this had been the case prior to the Seminar). I taught them to not delegate blacks to a certain class or a certain role. I also encourage my kids to bring home kids who are different from themselves."

"Different/better terminology; better informed facts and figures for support."

"I became willing to confront others on matters related to racism. I would not have done that before the Seminar; e.g., 'those minority kids are getting preferences for jobs now and my kids can't get a job.' I challenge that. I tell people that that is exactly what blacks have had to put up with for centuries in this country and you can't stand a few years?"

"I'm sure I did, in fact, I became a little more cynical. Felt I had been a victim beyond recognition."

IMPACT AREA 8. CHANGE IN THE WAY ONE INCLUDES MINORITIES INTO ONE'S CIRCLE OF FRIENDS

Ten of those interviewed responded that they had made such changes. (It is interesting to note how small this number is compared to some of the others. We're not sure what to attribute this to; several people had made a point of saying that they hadn't gone out of their way to include minorities more, others said they hadn't thought that was the intent of the Seminar, and still others said that they always had minorities among their friends and that had not changed. Still it is evident that this question tapped a different type of reaction than other questions did.)

IMPACT AREA 9. CHANGE IN COMFORT LEVEL AROUND MINORITIES

Twenty-two reported such changes. In fact, many reported an increase in discomfort for a while until a new style of relating could take effect.

"I was relating more to individuals, not lumping them. I realized that I was lumping black youth near my bus stop with a fellow busrider when I asked him if he knew them (youth in the alley near the bus stop). He said no. I realized that I had been lumping."

IMPACT AREA 10. CHANGE IN PARTICIPANTS' COMMITMENT TO WORK AGAINST RACISM

Thirty-five of those interviewed reported a change.

"I did want to do something, but didn't know how. Felt a responsibility to do something. Before, I'd seen the problem as attitudinal. Was frustrated in not knowing how."

"Political activity; I became better able to interpret legislation and was supportive of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program because I believed that it had allowance for self-determination within it."

"I left the board of The Way shortly thereafter because I realized that I had been working there out of guilt. We did rethink our contributions policy and gave some money to UTS to support Tillman Seminars and to Blake school for the same reason."

IMPACT AREA 11. CHANGE IN ACTIVITY TO BECOME MORE KNOWLEDGEABLE ON MINORITY ISSUES

Twenty-seven reported that yes, they did. Typically this took the form of reading more, either from the bibliography that Tillman provided or taking in more newspaper or periodical accounts of black issues. One respondent said, "Heck, no. I took steps to become more knowledgeable on majority issues; we are the problem," which is obviously even more in the spirit of the tone of the Seminar.

"I did more reading, especially the Tillman material. I was more willing to listen around minority issues. I read a number of books that were out at the time."

"I found out I was pretty racist. It was the only time in my life that I had someone hold up a mirror to me, personally. I became aware of how history had been written, how much had been left out. I passed that on to my children. We watched 'Roots' together."

"Definite, used Tillman information, passed out Tillman literature to people to make sure they read it. I was well educated after the Seminar."

"Tillman Seminar was big step. I'd known nothing at all of Black history. Read much of his bibliography."

IMPACT AREA 12. CHANGE IN AWARENESS OF ONE'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS BLACKS AND TOWARDS OTHER MINORITIES

Thirty-nine said yes, they'd become more aware of their attitudes towards Blacks, and twenty-six said they'd become more aware of their attitudes towards other minorities. Quotes from responses to both are given below.

"Since White racism is so involved with the heart and mind and is sinful attitudes towards one group of people, I tried to change my practices at work. For example, we hired a young girl whose husband was in Sandstone. She had a tough time getting along and most of her problems were related to him. I just had to be understanding, more understanding than I would have been prior to the Seminar. I had to take into account the whole picture of her life. This was directly impacted by the Tillman Seminar."

"I grew up in DC, isolated, came out to Minnesota before everything blew up. I formed opinions where I had none before. That was the Seminar's basic impact on me. I was a blank page before the Seminar. I do tend now to blame us, society, this is a direct connection with Seminar."

"Definitely taught me to see how I'd been putting them down, just from upbringing, not realizing until then they were human beings created by God that have as much right and worth as I did."

"I realized I had been operating out of guilt and that that very attitude was racist. I became much more able to deal person-to-person and honestly."

PARTICIPANTS' EVALUATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The last section of the interview asked the respondent to evaluate the seminar itself. We prefaced these questions with:

> These last few questions are by way of summary and concluding recommendations. The Walker Foundation is trying to decide whether to continue its commitment to fighting racism by sponsoring these seminars. Their decision is complicated by the fact that James Tillman died a few monhs ago, and the question arises as to what form a racism seminar could take.*

We then asked:

1. First, by way of summary, would you say whether or not the seminar was worthwhile for you?

2. Would you say whether or not the seminar was a stimulus to making changes important to eliminating racism in institutions that you live or work in?

3. Is this seminar a good way to combat racism now, in the 1980s?

4. If you could talk directly to the Walker Board of Directors, what recommendations would you give for such a seminar, as to the need for it, its structure, content, process, or leadership?

Then, if we felt there was more to be said, we asked one or more of the following "optional prods":

> Is the issue of institutional racism still alive? Should the seminar be scrapped since Tillman himself can't do it? Should it be confrontive? Should there be more group process? Less lecture? Should there be more emphasis on how to bring about change? Should there be follow-up activities? Should there be people from the same, or from different, organizations? What issues should it address?

*We did not suggest that continuation of the Seminars, or of the Foundation's commitment to fight racism would be contingent on positive findings of this study.

PARTICIPANTS' OVERALL EVALUATION

Tables 14, 15, and 16 give the basic answers to the first three of the evaluative questions.

Table 14 shows an overwhelming endorsement of the seminar; 51 of the 56 interviewed said yes, the seminar was worthwhile for them.

Table 15 shows that a substantial majority (36 of 56) regarded the seminar as a stimulus to change.

And Table 16 shows that 44 of the 56 recommend the seminar as still a good approach for the 1980s, but of these people, 37 qualified their endorsement with a number of suggestions for change.

We took all the respondents' critiques, sifted through them, and summarized them, beginning on the next page:

TABLE 14

Did participants regard the seminar as worthwhile?

	Minn.	Georgia	Total
Unqualified yes	45	6	51
No	2	0	2
Mixed	1	0	1
(Not known)	2	-	2

TABLE 15

Did participants regard the seminar as a stimulus to change?

	Minn.	Georgia	Total
Yes	33	3	36
No	10	2	12
Not clear	5	1	6
(Not known)	2	-	2

TABLE 16

Did participants recommend the seminar as good for the 1980s?

	Minn.	Georgia	Total
Yes, basically as is	5	2	7
Yes, but with changes	33	4	37
No	9	0	9
(Not known)	3	-	3

CONTINUATION OF THE SEMINAR

The most consistent recommendation by seminar participants was that the seminar should be continued. These recommendations ranged from "continue it on a massive scale, taking in whole communities" to "continuing the seminar would be beneficial, but I am not sure it is the best way."

There was general recognition by respondents that racism is still alive and strong, therefore a means for combatting it is necessary. A comment along this line was the following:

> The seminar is needed much more now - with the change in the economy - people are interested in food, not enlightenment.

This statement sums up the impression of the recommendations on continuing the seminar:

> I'm pleased the Foundation is spending the dollars on fighting racism and I hope they will continue.

Those who did not feel the seminar should be continued, though fewer in number, indicated the following reasons:

> It is not the format for the 80's but racism needs to be confronted.
>
> It's only a feeble attempt, the problem is monumental.
>
> I felt it was too expensive.
>
> The school system has been pretty well covered. I don't think people would attend.

LEADERSHIP

The following characteristics were offered by the respondents as important for the Seminar leadership.

Should be racially diverse
A man and woman team
Evenly divide leadership
Warm
Should know data, not be easily swayed, have experience
Has to be academically respectable
Does not have to be a minority
Should facilitate self-discovery

Black leadership important
Should not be a one-person presentation
Should acquaint self (selves) with the community
before running the seminar

Other remarks about leadership included recommendations that past participants be trained as teachers. One pointed out that several teachers had taken the seminar and "they could teach it." One respondent felt that the Tillman role should be that of training teachers, rather than leading seminars.

The respondents were asked, "Should Mary Tillman continue the seminar in a leadership role?" Every person who responded to the question answered affirmatively:

> (She) is very capable, could do the seminar.
>
> If I learned that Mary would do it, I would be thrilled.
>
> She should continue; she is very skillful. A woman in power is needed; she would be very effective.

SEMINAR DESIGN

GROUP PROCESS

Some respondents felt the balance between group process and lecture was just right:

> There was more lecture than group process, a good balance.
>
> The seminar had good balance: group process and lecture.

This person tended to feel that academic respectability was important:

> It is very important that the leader be academically respectable. A Ph.D. in sociology and good homework.

Others however felt process could be emphasized more:

> Group process was more important than content.
>
> (Seminar) should break up into interest groups.
>
> There was no opportunity to discuss what was going on - except during coffee break.

You don't internalize until you communicate to other people.

There should be a chance for role-playing games, play-acting . . . group stuff . . . a chance to test the material against the world.

I would add time for more social interaction around coffee and rolls, for example.

Some respondents felt that the seminar was too intellectual:

I felt overwhelmed, inundated with information.

He (Jim Tillman) should tone it down, his language from a college standpoint. Needs to speak to the common man.

One negative was having to channel a lot of information to a lot of people.

This was placed in the context of group process by respondents who felt that the seminar should:

Include more time for discussion.

Facilitate self-discovery.

There was no opportunity for group discussion.

One respondent felt, however, that "the seminar format is good because it allows you to ask questions, and to see yourself and to make up your mind."

CONFRONTATION

A major disagreement among respondents was the role of confrontation in the seminar process. Those who felt the confrontational style helpful, even necessary, made the following remarks:

Being confrontive at the beginning was good.

The seminar has to be hard-hitting.

It should continue to be confrontive.

Confrontive? Oh, yeh, why not? It's one way and Jim and Mary were very skillful at it.

Some, though less positive, were still supportive:

> I had mixed feelings. It made me think, but when it went too far I got angry and defensive.
>
> Confrontation is probably okay for people never exposed.

Respondents who did not like the confrontation style were more numerous. They said:

> Change the combative technique.
>
> A lot of people who went were so angry that they either left or were so angry that no positive good came from it.
>
> One of the negative aspects was the guilt trip.
>
> Tillman was a pedagogist - assumed the student was a child. I did not like that they tell adults what to do.

There were those in this group who weren't sure as well:

> I thought confrontation was negative, but could be kept in part.
>
> The seminar would be good in the 1980s if less confrontive.

GROUP MIX

Though they did not always agree, respondents had quite definite ideas about who should and who should not attend the seminar. Some thought participants should come from the same organization or know each other, others felt the opposite:

> People from different organizations good, but you need your counterpart from your own organization.
>
> Not too many people from your own crowd, so you deal with yourself.
>
> Different organizations is best.
>
> Need good balance; input of heterogeneous group and trust you get with people you know.
>
> Do workshops in key institutions with people responsible for running them. Then have the consumers react. Then bring the groups together.

There were recommendations about specific groups:

> Seminar should be where desegregation starts, in elementary school.
>
> A focus for parents.
>
> Churches and priests.
>
> I would deliberately seek out certain groups to participate: wealthy, institutional people, educators, clergy, social agency staff - especially those who come into contact with minority folks.

Some respondents felt that more minorities should be involved:

> Not enough minorities.
>
> (Should be) a mixture of minorities, handicapped, ethnic.
>
> Not enough blacks in seminar.

Some were not so confident, but had an opinion:

> Maybe include blacks more.
>
> Maybe should get blacks involved more.

Throughout the recommendations the economy was mentioned, so it is not surprising that some respondents mentioned class and organizational status:

> There should be a mixture of helping professions and crossing of class lines.
>
> I was uncomfortable with the presence of corporate leaders since I feel they are inherently racist.
>
> There should be more middle management than top.
>
> There should be more line level training in the schools.
>
> Perhaps there should be two seminars. One for the elite. One for the grassroots.

LOGISTICS

A number of persons commented on where the seminar should be held, geographically and institutionally:

> The seminar should be held in outstate as well as in the city.
>
> The seminar should be done on a massive scale, involving whole communities.
>
> The seminar should be held on four consecutive nights at a family camp on spirituality.
>
> (The seminar) should be held in key institutions with the leaders of those institutions, then with the consumers, then bring the groups together.
>
> It (should be held) in the neighborhoods.

In terms of educational settings, recommendations went all the way from elementary school, "where desegregation starts," through junior and senior high school to college level courses in the humanities.

"Churches" were also mentioned.

There were recommendations about the length of the Seminar also. The bulk thought three days were best, but some who had attended a one-day seminar thought it should be extended to "two days or a weekend." One respondent suggested that it be held on four consecutive Sunday evenings.

ISSUES

Several respondents indicated specific areas of concern that they felt the seminar needed to address:

> A need to address current issues exists.
>
> Focus on current issues, then broaden them locally, nationally, and internationally.
>
> Focus on local needs: Indians in Minnesota.
>
> Identify specific local concerns and issues that people have to deal with at home.

Another group saw a need to focus on economic issues:

> Address economic and power issues.
>
> The problem is different now. Economics are more important, jobs, food, housing.
>
> The right to have capital is a primary issue.

Other focused on systemic questions:

> Emphasize systems - political, value, et al.
>
> Teach that social systems do not work for the benefit of people, but for the benefit of the system itself.
>
> Reaffirm what laws exist and what you can still get by with. And which institutions are worse.
>
> Teach that your worth, black or white, is defined as to how much you can contribute through the social structure.

The schools were highlighted:

> Look at high school human relations programs.
>
> Get people to speak on "if the public schools had not been racist."
>
> We need to develop an orderly plan for eliminating racism in the public school . . . fifteen year plan.

There was also a group that wanted the seminar expanded to include "agism, sexism, elitism."

A final set of recommendations referred to the black community and affirmative action programs:

> Deal with urban racism.
>
> Provide information on black organizations endorsed by black people.
>
> Look at affirmative action. Get some data on results; types of people and abilities it has fostered.
>
> Goals and objectives in given communities should be considered. Should be set by minorities, blacks in those communities.

CRITIQUES OF THE SEMINAR

The following comments are recommendations that provide substantial challenge to the Seminar. They either recommend additional components or criticize content.

CHANGE STRATEGIES

After the recommendations to continue the seminar, the next most frequent recommendation was to add some component to the seminar on how to effect change:

> (There should be) more of an emphasis on How? with closer tie-ins to community organizations already working to effect social change.
>
> More helps and suggestions . . . if this is the case, here are some things you can do.
>
> Needed to tell us how to make change happen.
>
> Need for curriculum and cookbook approach to techniques for community organizing and making change.
>
> Issues to be addressed: how to effect change in institutions.
>
> I think there should be an emphasis on real things that can be changed. Make it more specifically related to things that can be changed . . . lead to a more activist conclusion.
>
> Should focus less on personal attitudes, more on how to.
>
> I found the seminar lacking tools for strategic action. We had trouble coming up with solutions.

This comment summed it up:

> I felt a need for more time at the end, 24 hours, to deal with . . . Where do we go from here?

A related series of recommendations pointed to a need for some sort of follow-up to the seminar:

> Provide follow-up one month, 6 months later.
>
> Follow-up would be helpful: lonely business, scary, need reinforcement.

If follow-up groups could be supportive, that would be beneficial.

There should be a consulting committee and organizing group to guide folks who went through the seminar.

Need more opportunity for continuing activity. Have they built anything when they leave. At least every two years.

Look at pluses and minuses in educational system and build fifteen year plan to eliminate the minuses and strengthen the pluses.

One person did note, however,

They had a follow-up group and it was not successful.

Some respondents had specific things they disliked:

I resented the way he talked about Jews . . . I was offended.

Seminar reinforced what I was trying to eliminate . . . we all need to work together.

Tillman put the blame on somebody else . . . the white majority.

I did not like how he dealt with women.

Principal negative . . . how he acted and spoke, especially the sexist way he treated Mary Tillman.

It was offensive from a feminist perspective. I am the father figure and I am right.

Others specifically mention a class critique:

Tillman analysis flawed by class conflict and lack of class analysis.

Racism needs to be examined at the class level.

Class was mentioned several times in the "group mix" category:

Some minority people have a class bias and they are the enemy, too . . . this was ignored.

May need two seminars: one for the elite; one for the grassroots.

Economic situation is getting worse, black kids need to know what the middle class is all about . . . so as not to get their hopes up.

I would also include sexism, elitism, and racism in one package.

SUMMARY OF PARTICIPANTS RECOMMENDATIONS

In soliciting participant's recommendations for the future of the Seminar, we asked them to "speak directly to the Walker Board." Endorsements (with qualification) by 44 of the 56 (Table 14) is a strong recommendation .

Participants' list of desired qualities for future seminar leadership also endorses the concept of the Tillman Seminar. The composite picture of a good leader looks similar to a combination of the characteristics participants identified in James and Mary Tillman.

Comments on seminar design suggest a desire for more group interaction during the Seminar. There was no consensus on who should be the proper audience of the Seminar. The differences in opinion over the value of confrontation is difficult to evaluate since negative reaction to confrontation could easily represent discomfort generated in an individual. Discomfort was identified as a valuable learning experience by some participants; some said it bothered others more than themselves, and still others seemed to have been genuinely offended.

In terms of institutions that should receive training, it is not surprising, given our sample, that educational and church related institutions were mentioned frequently.

There is no question that participants want more "how to bring about change" material in the seminar. They also wanted follow-up activities, though the exact nature of these activities was not fleshed out.

It was clear that participants felt the seminar should definitely be issue-oriented. Though many recommendations were made, economic issues and issues of particular local importance predominated. Many mentioned sexism, classism, and agism.

TILLMAN SEMINAR ON WHITE RACISM
IMPACT STUDY

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Attachment A

I.D. No._____

I. 1. Name_____

Present address*_____

_____

*To update Walker's files

Present phone number Work: ( )_____

Home: ( )_____

2. Date of seminar_____

3. Respondent's age at time of seminar_____

4. Present place of employment_____

5. Type of organization_____

6. Position_____

ainbow Research, Inc.
inneapolis, MN
5 January 1980

Please tell us how you came to be in the seminar, where you were working, and how the opportunity came up.

1. Where were you working/volunteering? (name, and type of organization)

2. Were there any aspects of your job or activities that brought you into contact with issues of racism?

3. How did you happen to be at the seminar?

4. Did you go under pressure, or a feeling of obligation? (If No, "Were you looking forward to it?) (If Yes, "Would you say something further about that?)

5. Had you been involved previously in combatting racism? (Note: basically Active, Dabbled, Inactive. If Active, what sort of activities?)

These next questions have to do with the seminar experience itself.

1. How do you remember James Tillman?

2. How do you remember Mary Tillman?

3. Was it a good mix of people in the seminar? (If not, what was needed?)

4. Did the group process itself contribute anything important, above and beyond the influence of Tillman himself? What?

We understand that the seminar had two basic purposes. One was to teach that white society itself is inherently racist and that everyone is a part of it. The other was to encourage participants to become committed to fight institutional racism.

We'd like to know if either of these two purposes were accomplished, for you.

1. Did you accept their thesis of white racist society?
   (Note: Y/N + whether they already knew or accepted this before the seminar.)

2. Did you become committed to fight institutional racism?
   (Note: Y/N + whether they already were committed before the seminar, and if so, whether or how the seminar changed, reinforced, or permitted a committment).

Now we want to focus on events after the seminar. We're interested in hearing about situations that illustrate the impact this seminar had on your activities.

Suppose the Tillmans could review your activities since your participation in the seminar. What have you done by way of combatting racism that might earn a "gold star" from them?

(Interviewer: Write the answers to this "gold star" question below and on the next page during the interview, using the A-H guidelines. Wait until transcription time to decide what impact area to stick it into. Try to get 2-3 gold star stories.)

a) what kind of setting or institution?
b) year
c) what was the prevailing practice?
d) what did the person do? sequence of events?
e) what was the effect? what was different?
f) did that have other, later effects?
g) were there negative effects, or shortcomings?
h) how likely is that person's initiative was prompted, inspired, or influenced by the seminar?

Did you work on any part of organizational practice or policy so that it would be less racist? (Use A-H guidelines)

Did you create new opportunities to learn about (or to teach) issues of racism, or to strategize against racism? (Use A-H guidelines)

Was there a change in the connections or networking or cooperation among community organizations or resources? (Use A-H guidelines)

Was there a change in your own style of cooperation, or supervision, or employer/employee relations? (Use A-H guidelines)

Right after the seminar, were there changes (either positive or negative), in such interpersonal factors as trust, hostility, tension, or cooperation at the place where you were working (volunteering)? (Use A-H guidelines)

Did you join or leave any organizations, or did you change who you gave donations or support to, on the basis of their positions on racism? (Note: this could be about political parties or candidates, charities, activist organizations, social organizations, church membership, schools, etc.) (Use A-H guidelines)

Did you change the way you talked about minorities, or about racism, to your family, or friends or colleagues? In what ways? (Y/N + comments and qualifiers)

Did you include minorities more into your circle of friends? (Y/N + comments and qualifiers)

. Was there a change in your comfort level around minorities? (Y/N + comments and qualifiers)

. Was there a change in your commitment to work against racism? (Y/N + comments and qualifiers)

Did you take steps to become more knowledgeable on minority issues? (Y/N + comments and qualifiers)

2. Did you become more aware of your own attitude towards Blacks? (Y/N + comments and qualifiers)

3. Did you become more aware of your own attitude towards other minorities? (Y/N + commen and qualifiers)

1. In order to get a balanced picture, tell us about any negative aspects of the seminar that come to mind.

2. Were there any negative effects to your organization or community resulting from the seminar? (Use A-H guidelines)

3. (If there's not much sign of impact), Why do you suppose the seminar wasn't more effective, or didn't effect you more?

4. Have there been other events or experiences that have affected you more, either positively or negatively, than the Tillman seminar did, on issues of racism?

These last few questions are by way of summary and concluding recommendations. The Walker Foundation is trying to decide whether to continue its commitment to fighting racism by sponsoring these seminars. Their decision is complicated by the fact that James Tillman died a few months ago, and the question arises as to what form a racism seminar could take.

1. First, by way of summary, would you say whether or not the seminar was worthwhile for you?

2. Would you say whether or not the seminar was a stimulus to making changes important to eliminating racism, in institutions that you live or work in?

3. Is this seminar a good way to combat racism, now in the 1980s?

4. If you could talk directly to the Walker Board of Directors, what recommendations would you give for such a seminar, as to the need for it, its structure, content, process, or leadership?

   Optional prods: Is the issue of institutional racism still alive?
   Should the seminar be scrapped since Tillman himself can't do it
   Should it be confrontive?
   Should there be more group process? Less lecture?
   Should there be more emphasis on how to bring about change?
   Should there be follow-up activities?
   Should there be people from the same, or from different, organizations?
   What issues should it address?

1. Interviewer_____

2. Date of interview

Rainbow Research, Inc.
25 January 1980